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Liberty

NOT THE DAUGHTER BUT THE MOTHER OF ORDER — PROUDHON

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"For always in thine eyes, O Liberty!
Shines that high light whereby the world is saved;
And though thou slay us, we will trust in thee."

JOHN HAY.

On Picket Duty.

It is not generally known that the new anti-Anarchist law not only authorizes the deportation of aliens disbelieving in organized government, but provides long terms of imprisonment for American citizens inviting such aliens to these shores. If I were to invite my friend John Henry Mackay to this country to pay me a social visit, I could be imprisoned for years under this law. But John Henry Mackay, residing in Berlin, can invite me to visit him there without danger of interference on the part of Emperor William, provided always that during my sojourn I do not speak with unseemly levity of the emperor's moustache. Which is the freer country, the United States or Germany?

It seems probable at the present writing that, as a result of the attempt of the government to deport John Turner, the constitutionality of the law under which the attempt is made will be passed upon by the supreme court of the United States. It is to be hoped that the case of the defence will be adequately presented. In my view the only hope of overturning the law lies in the argument that it is in conflict with the *spirit* of the constitution, for I consider it almost certain that the higher court will decide, as did the lower court, that it does not conflict with the *letter*. As it could not in any case be in the power of congress to pass effective laws limiting the freedom of speech of persons not residing within the jurisdiction of the United States, it is hardly to be supposed that the framers of the constitution intended to forbid such legislation, of the possibility of which they never could have dreamed. But, on the other hand, it is still less to be supposed that, in framing a constitution for a land whose earliest settlers came here from foreign shores in search of freedom to speak, they intended to make it possible to prevent others from following this example. Turner's lawyers should build their case on this contention.

The court of appeals of this State lately rendered a self-contradictory decision, in a faith-healing case, which would be amusing if it were not outrageous. A Dowieite had been found guilty of neglecting an adopted child, sixteen months old, in not calling a physician to treat her for catarrhal pneumonia. The New York penal code makes it a misdemeanor to omit, without lawful excuse, to perform the duty to furnish food, shelter, medical attendance, etc., to minors. It is this provision the court of appeals had to pass upon, construe, and apply. The defendant contended that he *had* provided medical attendance—of the kind he believed and had faith in. The court rejected this plea. It admitted that many sincere and intelligent persons distrusted and dreaded regular medicine, while believing in the sovereign efficacy of mental healing, Christian Science, or the various offshoots of those creeds, and went on to say: "But, sitting as a court of law for the purpose of considering and determining the meaning of statutes, we have nothing to do with these variances in religious beliefs, and have no power to determine which is correct. We place no limitations upon the power of the mind over the body, the power of faith to dispel disease, or the power of the supreme being to heal the sick. We merely declare the law as given us by the legislature. We have considered the legal proposition raised by the record, and have found no error on the part of the trial court that called for a reversal." The court did not merely declare the law; it also upheld its constitutionality, and decided that it involved no violation of personal liberty. In doing this it *did* place limitations upon the power of mind over body, the power of faith to dispel disease, and so on. Did it not decide that the defendant had omitted to perform his duty in failing to provide medical attendance? Did not this amount to saying that faith cure was no cure at all, and that men must provide, not the medical attendance they believe in, but the sort the legislature and the majority prescribe? It certainly did and to say this is to limit the power of mind and of faith. The law as interpreted and sustained compels a father to do for his child something he would not do for himself, something he considers dangerous, wrong, and fatal. It does this because the majority believes in that mode of treatment, and because the majority's will is law. If the court cannot see that this is the only logical ground for its decision, it can see nothing.

Apropos of the New York faith-cure case, dealt with in another paragraph, the following from the Springfield "Republican" will be read with interest: "Simultaneously with the New York decision comes one from the New Hampshire supreme court maintaining entirely opposite conclusions from those upon which the New York law and courts proceed. Rev. Irving C. Tomlinson, first-reader in the Christian Science church at Concord, undertook to treat a case of appendicitis by Christian Science methods. He was prosecuted for malpractice, and the lower court decided for the defendant. The State supreme court now follows in overruling the exceptions to the other's findings—thus maintaining the right of Christian Science 'physicians' to practise in New Hampshire on a footing of equality with regular medical practitioners. Apparently, therefore, if Mr. Pierson lived in New Hampshire, he would have been held to have employed medical attendance in resorting to the faith cure for his sick child." The New Hampshire supreme court is to be congratulated both on its logic and its respect for liberty. Some sham individualists on the New York press commend the New York decision and condemn that of New Hampshire as one legalizing murder! Yet Crosby says there is too much logic in the world.

Necessary Evils Only Aged Abuses.

[Henry Maret.]

It is the characteristic of an abuse that has perpetuated itself to appear as a necessity.

De Profundis.

"Considerabam ad dexteram, et videbam; et non erat qui cognosceret me . . . . . Non est qui requirat animam meam."—*Ps.* cxlii.

When the clouds' swoln bosoms echo back the shouts of the many and strong
That things are all as they best may be, save a few to be right ere long,
And my eyes have not the vision in them to discern what to these is so clear,
The blot seems straightway in me alone; one better he were not here.

The stout upstanders say, All's well with us: ruers have nought to rue!
And what the potent say so oft, can it fail to be somewhat true?
Breezily go they, breezily come; their dust smokes around their career,
Till I think I am one born out of due time who has no calling here.

Their dawns bring lusty joys, it seems; their eves exultance sweet;
Our times are blessed times, they cry: Life shapes it as is most meet,
And nothing is much the matter; there are many smiles to a tear;
Then what is the matter is I, I say. Why should such an one be here? . . . .

Let him to whose ears the low-voiced Best seems stilled by the clash of the First,
Who holds that, if way to the Better there be, it exacts a full look at the Worst,
Who feels that delight is a delicate growth cramped by crookedness, custom, and fear,
Get him up and begone as one shaped awry; he disturbs the order here.

Thomas Hardy.

Liberty.

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"In abolishing rent and interest, the last vestiges of old-time slavery, the Revolution abolishes at one stroke the sword of the executioner, the seal of the magistrate, the club of the policeman, the gauge of the exciseman, the erasing-knife of the department clerk, all those insignia of Politics, which young Liberty grinds beneath her heel."—PROUDHON.

☞ The appearance in the editorial column of articles over other signatures than the editor's initial indicates that the editor approves their central purpose and general tenor, though he does not hold himself responsible for every phrase or word. But the appearance in other parts of the paper of articles by the same or other writers by no means indicates that he disapproves them in any respect, such disposition of them being governed largely by motives of convenience.

A Logician to Crosby's Rescue.

Ernest Crosby, though devoting some five pages in the latest number of the "Whim" to a further discussion of "logic and common sense," touches scarcely a point made by me in my rejoinder in the November number of Liberty. He comes nearest to doing so in the following sentences:

> To sail by chart and compass is the best way, if your chart is perfect, but, when you see breakers ahead where your chart shows no reef, you must fall back upon your fathom-line. Sounding is slow and prosaic work, and it is much pleasanter to steer by the constellations, but, human "science" being as imperfect as it is and as it needs must be, we must often have recourse to our instincts as a corrective for our calculations.

As if sounding were not as scientific a method as steering by the constellations, and as if the fathom-line were not a logical and scientific instrument equally with the chart and compass! In making recourse to the fathom-line equivalent to recourse to instinct Crosby is as illogical as usual. When Crosby comes in sight of an unexpected reef, he doesn't sound; he guesses.

But what does Crosby do when instinct fails him? Back he goes to logic. And so, perceiving that any attempt to answer my latest arguments by the method of feeling would be a sorry job, he grasps eagerly at a helping hand extended him by a logician. It appears that some person more logical than himself has offered him the following syllogism with which to fell me to the earth:

> Major premise, I do not believe in violence, and desire to abolish the State;
>
> Minor premise, I can best promote my ideal by using *some* of the means (those least obnoxious in practice) afforded by the State;
>
> Conclusion, I may, nay, must, vote for all progressive measures in order to serve my ideal.

First stopping to note that this argument does not justify Crosby in voting for non-progressive measures, as he did when he voted for the platform on which Bryan stood, I point out that the gentleman who offers this perfectly logical syllogism is clearly unfamiliar with the controversy upon which he has intruded himself. The origin of this controversy was a complaint on my part that Crosby, while voting for invasion himself, is continually assailing others for resort to invasive methods *even for good motives.* In other words, Crosby, in his criticisms of others, had taken a position distinctly antagonistic to the minor premise of the syllogism quoted. He is barred, therefore, from answering me by a syllogism based on that which he originally denied. In this syllogism the conclusion follows from the premises, but the minor premise is unsound. I am ready to maintain this when occasion offers. But first Crosby, or his friendly correspondent, must find some means of justifying Crosby for invasion from good motives that will not at the same time justify others whom he criticises for doing the same thing.

T.

The "Sun" and the Boycott.

Notwithstanding the successful usurpation of the revolutionary judges, which has made legislation a farce and an idle form, certain State legislatures have undertaken to suppress boycotting by statute. Wisconsin has some sort of an anti-combination and anti-conspiracy act which includes a prohibition of boycott agreements. Alabama has passed a special anti-boycotting and anti-blacklisting act, which all the plutocratic editors have praised with much warmth and the usual lack of intelligence and fairness.

The New York "Sun," a paper which plumes itself on its firm and consistent adherence to first principles (and which, it must be admitted, is more rational and clear-sighted than the average organ of plutocracy in respect of labor-and-capital questions), rejoices that "the good sense of the American people will make the use of this iniquitous instrument of coercion a legal offence." Let us see what the Alabama statute provides, and why the "Sun" approves and hails it as a sign of progress. Here is a summary of the law:

> It is declared unlawful not only for two or more persons to conspire together for the purpose of preventing any person or persons, firm, or corporation, from carrying on any lawful business, or for the purpose of interfering with the same, but also for any person or persons to go near or loiter about the premises of any person, firm, or corporation engaged in a lawful business for the purpose of influencing or inducing others not to trade with, buy from, sell to, or have business dealings with such persons, firm, or corporation; or to picket the works or place of business of such other person, firm, or corporation for the purpose of interfering with or injuring any lawful business. The Alabama statute goes on to make it unlawful to print or circulate any notice of boycott, boycott cards, stickers, "dodgers," or "unfair lists," publishing or declaring that a boycott or ban exists, or has existed, or is contemplated, against any person, firm, or corporation doing a lawful business. The maintenance and circulation of employers' blacklists is also forbidden under penalties of the same degree of severity as those attached to boycotting by labor.

The "Sun's" comment on this act is as follows:

> Now, to all clear-headed and right-feeling men it is obvious that the boycott is an outrage levelled at a freeman's fundamental right to work when, where, and at what wage he chooses and to manage his own business according to his own judgment, so long as he obeys the law. Nothing could be more preposterous than the attempt of Messrs. Mitchell and Gompers to confuse the public mind by asserting that the application of the boycott to employers or non-unionist workers is as defensible as the course pursued by Christian churches in refusing membership to those persons who fail to comply with certain prescribed conditions. A church by withholding membership from an applicant does not frustrate or trammel his exercise of the fundamental right to work for self-support and the support of his family. No such absurd analogy as Mr. Mitchell undertook to draw will be countenanced in a court of justice or by intelligent lawmakers. It is well known that boycotting has been repeatedly adjudged by jurists to be a violation of the common law.

The first sentence of this passage is a reckless assertion. It is not true that all clear-headed and right-feeling men look upon the boycott as an outrage levelled either at the right to work or at the right to manage one's business according to his own judgment. The "Sun" recognizes the right of any number of men to strike as a body; but what difference is there between an agreement to quit a man's service and an agreement to withdraw custom from him? Any argument that justifies individual strikes justifies individual boycotts, and every argument in defence of a concerted strike is an argument in favor of a concerted boycott.

I may strike, because no man has any right to compel me to work for him or with him. I may boycott, because no man has a right to my custom. My boycott may deprive a man of work, but so may my striking. In neither case have I done anything wrong. I owe no man either work or wages. I owe all men respect of their equal liberty, and neither the strike nor the boycott violates this liberty.

Is an agreement to boycott a conspiracy because it contemplates injury? So does an agreement to strike. The object in either case is compulsion by passive and perfectly legitimate means—economic compulsion.

Messrs. Gompers and Mitchell did not attempt to confuse the public mind by their analogy, and there was nothing preposterous in their comparison. A church does not restrict the right to work by boycotting obnoxious religionists, but is there one principle for the needs of the body and another for the needs of the soul? To many the spiritual life (so called) is infinitely more important than the material one. Rights are rights, and, if one may not combine to deprive a man of dollars and cents we may have to bestow, we should not be permitted to combine to deprive him of the consolations of church-going.

Courts of justice and intelligent (?) lawmakers may not countenance this analogy, but this does not prove the unsoundness of the analogy. Courts of justice and legislatures for many decades denied the right to strike, the right to combine for the purpose of securing higher wages by peaceful and economic means. The courts have changed their mind on the question of strikes, and they will have to change it on the boycott question. A few have already performed or undergone the operation.

Will the "Sun" consider the pro-boycott arguments of Liberty, or of Judge Rogers in the St. Louis telegraphers' case, and try to refute

them? Appeals to precedents and traditional views have very little effect in these days of reactions and revolutions. The "Sun" article is shallow and full of disputed assumptions. Honest reflection, plus a little logic, will convince any man that the Alabama act so sweepingly indorsed is an absurd assault on liberty and reason. S. R.

A Communist's Communism.

"Free Society" is trying to raise money to get a linotype; and Jay Fox is helping the movement along by bringing out a "long-cherished idea." Here are some of the conspicuous parts of his idea:

I am not one of those who think a hide-bound organization necessary to the proper conduct of any enterprise; but I do maintain that some voluntary arrangement, that may in some respects take on the color of organization, is absolutely necessary to carry out any set line of action. While living under the present system, we are forced, to a large extent, to use its methods, whether we like them or not.

It is left to us, then, to organize a group having for its purpose the inauguration of the matter under consideration. Let this group formulate some plans for raising the necessary funds, publishing a prospectus of the use it intends to make of the funds and the manner in which it proposes to administer its trust. It should be organized in such a way that all the property accumulated would at all times be administered in the interest of the movement and under the immediate jurisdiction of the group. More than that: it should be so arranged that subscribing comrades in distant parts have a voice in the conduct of affairs. Such an arrangement would insure the confidence of all that their hard-earned dollars would be used in perpetuity for the advancement of the cause they hold dear; making each one feel a personal responsibility for the conduct of the propaganda, and casting over the whole the sweet flavor of Anarchist Communism.

I cannot imagine how the necessary funds could be raised and the work suggested carried on otherwise than by a group of trustworthy comrades associated together in the manner outlined above, or on some similar plan. . . . . But such an enterprise, to arrest the general interest of the comrades, must be conducted upon a basis in harmony with the ideal of Anarchist Communism. We may have the greatest amount of confidence in the honesty and integrity of certain individual comrades,—which we certainly have, and they have well earned it,—yet not many of us can ever get ourselves to feel it to be consistent with our ideal, or with ordinary common sense, to place it in the absolute power of any one person to oversee, administer, and hold in private ownership the property of the propaganda. We may have a most excellent comrade at the head of a literary bureau, or whatever else it may be, and such comrade may be giving good satisfaction, yet there will be, none the less, a feeling that such comrade should not be absolute in his or her position, but subject to the movement, through a group holding in trust the machinery of the propaganda. . . . . The propaganda has outgrown its individual stage. Formerly we had only a few strong individuals, strong in their faith in the ideal, strong in their adhesions to the ideal, strong in their devotion to the propaganda, and strong, doubly strong, in their devotion to the dissemination of our ideas. These were the sturdy pioneers who planted the seed of liberty anew in our benighted land. . . . . These individual propagandists paved the way for the group propagandists, and the time is now ripe for the groups to take up the cause in earnest and carry it on to final victory.

All this sets me to wondering what Anarchist Communism is. I suppose I am a nuisance with my wondering, but I don't see how I am to stop it till I get more light. Now, this letter of Mr. Fox's does not describe the movement as I had imagined it. It is certainly contrary to much that we have heard of as being Anarchist Communism. Not only is the demand for an organization, with words like "jurisdiction" and "subject," contrary to the anti-organization talk that is so familiar (I always did hope that that talk did not really represent the movement), but the plan is in direct disregard of Kropotkine's well-known fundamental tenet that a business can best be directed by those who are actually doing the work of that business. Yet this is what is now to give a sweet flavor of Anarchist Communism to the dry crust of voluntary coöperation; and these proposals are becoming a basis of discussion without moving any zealous comrade to protest against them as misrepresenting the ideal.

I always regret to see Anarchist Communists talking about the necessity of conforming to the present society till we can quite upset it. I see some reason for such words, indeed. If you buy one linotype and make the privilege of using it free to every Anarchist Communist, or even to every contributor to the linotype fund, Malthus takes charge at once; the material is not sufficient for the people. This would be somewhat different if all the linotypes on the continent, together with the rest of the capital, were similarly free. Nevertheless, I hold that the way to establish the new society is by living according to it, and not according to the old, and that Anarchist Communism, if it be anything better than moonshine, has a distinct tactical advantage over the rest of us in having an ideal that can be so easily practised while the surrounding world still clings to its idols. Anarchist Communists have often agreed with me and started voluntary Communist industries, and have reported some success; there, then, is a good argument for their method, —for Communism, I mean. Then they have sooner or later petered out, so far as I know; and that seems to me a clear proof of some weakness in Communism. The various explanations for the reason why it must be so bear the familiar stamp of promoters' reasons why their enterprises fail. There are always plenty of such reasons, after the failure. There were the same sort of reasons, usually, for the failure of the other enterprise that didn't fail; but it had strength to conquer them. Every man, the doctors tell us, is taking into his system germs fit to kill him in a very short time; the test of a healthy man is that his system kills the germs. Just so with industries. The fact that you were smitten with a deadly disease is in one sense a reason for your death, but it happened equally to the successful industries; if you did not get rid of your disease as they did, you were weaker than they. I only hope six Anarchist Communists will at once rebuke me for all this, and show why their reasons for failure are very good, that I may see whether their very good reasons will not be as different, one man's from another's, as those of six municipal Socialists explaining why the western mails could not compete with Wells, Fargo & Co. a while ago.

If a man believes the world is going to be saved by something which the law prohibits, like the Mutual Bank, he has a delightfully good excuse for not working at what he talks of.* But there is no law against Communism in any sense of that word; and good Communists in general believe that their economy is advantageous enough to permit a very rapid increase of wealth, sufficient to fill, in a short time, all gaps due to scanty capital at starting. If the Social Revolution should be so ill-advised as to destroy all capital now existing, they would mourn over temporary starvation, but they would not expect industrial progress to be delayed more than a very few years. The law which prevents them from starting without any more capital than they have, therefore, cannot be the ground of their failure to show brilliant experimental successes. But, if the law does not stop them, what are they waiting for?

But I suspect that I am not talking heart to heart with Mr. Fox,—that the phrase I am criticising is not a real reason of his, but a sop thrown to his anti-organization friends. He seems confident that this plan of his is a near approach to the Anarchist-Communist ideal. Well, I do not see why not after all, except that I have been told so. The plan seems to me distinctly Communistic, and in no way unanarchistic, in those senses of Communism and Anarchism which Anarchist Communists used to repudiate when they debated the question with me in the columns of the "Firebrand."

There remains another question, quite as important in its way: is the plan good sense? I think not. A propaganda that has outgrown its individual stage has outgrown its life. Collective control is fit only for steady-going institutions in ruts. It cannot caper, as a propaganda has to. The business of groups in a propaganda is to support their individuals, except in the rare case where the group is made up of active propagandist individuals who can work together. Having a voice in the conduct of affairs in distant parts is not working together. The editor of "Free Society" will be hampered enough by his linotype anyhow. He will hardly feel free to say things that will get his paper suppressed; and think of the condition of an Anarchist editor who must not provoke suppression as often as he chooses! Five years from now he will be able to comment on the texts "How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God" and "First sell all that you have and give away the money, and then come follow Me" in a way that might enlighten theologians who have never tried the experiment of following their Lord into the propaganda of unfamiliar radical ideas. Don't tie him up with votes from all over the Union into the bargain.

Besides, the votes will be of no use to anybody. They will never amount to anything in the practical conduct of the business; they will be merely a picayune annoyance. Theoretically they are going to be useful by making the distant subscribers feel as if they had a voice in controlling a business which few would desire that they really should control; but practically these subscribers are going to feel conscious

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* Speaking for myself, I would not go into the banking business, even if the law imposed no restrictions on it. Consequently these restrictions supply me with no excuse, delightful or other. I want Anarchism in finance, not that I may become a banker, but that bankers may find themselves under the necessity of competing for business.—EDITOR.

that their voice is a sham, because they have no real control. Then they are going to feel twice as cross as if they had put the whole definitely out of their hands and saw it being managed in a way that they found fault with. No, gentlemen: if you want peace and quietness and propaganda, the way is to give your Chicago man or your Chicago group a vote of confidence and a linotype and your blessing, and then watch the thing sink or swim in the hands of those who can touch the machinery. Tell them to present an annual report of treasury and of work done; appoint an auditor if you think best; that is as much oversight as you can afford. If you really want to keep all your hands on the helm, the only way is to give the money for the first payment on the machine and tell the editor that you will furnish the next year's payment if the thing is run to suit you; that is a genuine and practical control. The end of that, though, will be that some year the payment won't be made, unless the editor makes most of it. But, whatever you do, don't take Jay Fox's advice. If you adopt any essential part of his plan as I have quoted it, there will be a demand for an Anarchist-Communist paper to take "Free Society's" place.

STEVEN T. BYINGTON.

Loria and Economic Interpretation.*

Among the original thinkers of the nineteenth century Karl Marx will probably find a place, not as the law-giver of Socialism, but as the chief founder of the economic interpretation of history. His contribution to political science through the materialistic conception of history is steadily gaining a wider acceptance from scholars of the most divergent views. Historic and sociological study has undoubtedly received a powerful impulse from Marx's theory, which, in the hands of succeeding writers, increases our knowledge of social institutions. By many of his admirers Loria has been hailed as the originator of the theory, though he himself makes no such claim. True, he almost ignores the efforts of those who preceded him in this field. In one place he does admit that the economic basis of politics was "set forth very freely by Jones, Proudhon, Marx (who throws much light on the question), Engels, Lassalle," and others. But we must go back to James Harrington's "Oceana," about the middle of the seventeenth century, for the earliest statement of historic materialism.

Buckle broke new ground in tracing the effects of physical conditions, such as soil, climate, and food supply, upon human progress. Lewis H. Morgan, in his profound and masterly work, pointed out the prime importance of economic factors in the early stages of society, though it was beyond his sphere to apply the principle to succeeding civilization. Yet Morgan's most important contribution to sociology received scant recognition until Engels followed it up with his "Origin of the Family," in which he combined the historic theories of Marx with the researches of Morgan. Engels, who had already done so much to establish Marx's economic view of history, was the first to supplement and confirm Morgan's conclusions.

It cannot be denied that "economic determinism," as the French have it, has suffered more from its friends than its opponents. Economic factors have been forced to serve as an adequate explanation of every social and historic event in all ages, to the entire exclusion of other considerations. Its Socialist adherents have also made the mistake of assuming economic interpretation to be a method exclusive to Socialism. Of course it would be unfair to Marx and Engels to make them responsible for the vagaries of present-day disciples, especially as the two Socialist leaders had already worked out the theory in its widest applications as early as 1847.

"It is not," wrote Engels, as quoted by Prof. Seligman,— "it is not that the economic situation is the cause in the sense of being the only active agent, and that everything else is only a passive result. It is, on the contrary, a case of mutual action on the basis of the economic necessity which in last instance works itself out."

The fear of antagonizing established institutions or conflicting with existing interests has not deterred Loria from pushing the economic point of view to its logical conclusion. "The State," says he, "is the political expression of the existing economic system, and is always composed therefore of the economically dominant class." Indeed, the State was created in the interests of the proprietors. One has only to read Morgan's account of the rise of political authority in Greece and Rome, or Fustel de Coulonges's description of "The Ancient City," to find abundant proof of Loria's contention. The State, he tells us, "became in the hands of a rapacious minority a terrible engine of defensive and offensive warfare against the exploited majority." The supreme purpose of government is to guarantee and augment the income from capital.

Proudhon, more than sixty years ago, by somewhat different reasoning, arrived at conclusions almost identical with those to which Loria is led by his analysis of capitalism and the State. By property Proudhon meant the power of exploitation, of compelling tribute by virtue of the mere fact of ownership. Property he defined as "the exploitation of the weak by the strong."* It was this process he termed robbery, and, as he is known to professors and writers in encyclopedias mostly at second-hand, he has therefore ever since been misrepresented and maligned.

Like Proudhon, Loria holds that the basis of economic exploitation is the appropriation of the land. When all opportunities to produce an independent living are closed to the propertyless, they become dependent upon the proprietary class. Aided by law and religion, the State is the chief instrument through which the privileged minority maintain their supremacy. By moral suasion, by legal convention and political force, the dominant class overcome the natural reluctance of the dependent majority, gaining their tacit acquiescence in a social condition of which they are the victims.

Economic supremacy necessitates political conquest. The monopolist, whether of land or capital, lives upon unearned income. Proudhon, as we have noted, calls the process robbery; Loria speaks of revenues. "After having possessed himself of the revenues, it is necessary for him to possess political authority in order to make sure of their continuance." The numerical superiority of the exploited is "neutralized by the moral influence exerted on them by the unproductive laborers who encourage weakness in the lower classes and keep them in a state of ignorance in order to make sure of their acquiescence in the usurpatory system."

Under the forms of slavery and serfdom all the land on which a free man could support himself had not been monopolized; hence the proprietors, in order to secure revenues, were obliged to bring the laborers under bodily subjection. But, as population gradually increased and all available land was appropriated, the master class had no need to hold the producers in bondage. Economic necessity took the place of personal compulsion. The free laborer was willing to provide a revenue for property in return for the privilege of working to gain subsistence. The appropriation of revenue thus became automatic. Landlordism combined with the wage system forms the simplest and most effectual method of securing a perpetual income to the proprietors.

Cunningham, Rogers, and Ashley had worked out the above conclusions as applied to England, while Inama-Sternegg had achieved like results by investigating economic history in Germany, before Loria formulated his views. But Niebohr's more recent researches upon the origin of slavery were prompted apparently by Loria's work.

Political institutions correspond to the prevailing economic conditions. On this subject Loria shows deeper insight than Spencer. Representative government evolved out of the requirements of modern industrialism and the wage system. Under slavery and serfdom the ruling class had no need for it.

Economic evolution goes ceaselessly on. The desired change will take place, not through politics, but by the new economic form at length pushing aside and destroying the old.

Inverted Darwinism is the term by which Loria explains the proverbial incompetency of State officials and their methods. In politics the survival of the unfit is the rule. Even as far back as the ancient Greek democracies this fact was known. It is best illustrated in the most advanced modern States. The dominant class, while desiring a government strong enough to hold in check the dependent masses, do not want it so efficient as to curb their own power of exploitation and accumulation. A single instance, out of many that will occur to the reader, is the inability of the Interstate Commerce Commission to prevent discrimination by the railroads in favor of large corporations. Certain laws against unequal rates and against the ownership of mines by transportation companies in Pennsylvania, which are never enforced, might also be cited. Laws exist, attesting the extent to which the propertyless participate in their making, which, if carried out, would unquestionably tend to restrain capitalistic greed. But the interests of the revenue-receiving class

* THE ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIETY. By Achille Loria. Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., London; Scribner's, New York. $1.25.

* Proudhon hardly intended this phrase as a definition. It is rather a characterization of property, by way of contrast with the author's counter-characterization of communism as "the exploitation of the strong by the weak."—EDITOR.

favor public officials who are unwilling or unfit to execute such laws. Hence the time-serving, spineless, narrow, and incapable usually aspire to and obtain the most important offices, while the really fit either fail to reach the seats of power, or, if they ever attain to them, are speedily eliminated. Politicians of the Altgeld stamp are soon turned down.

There has been little said about Loria's shortcomings. Where so much is excellent, suggestive, fresh, and brimful of ardent conviction, it seems invidious to speak of the weakness of the method. Even in answering his critics he does not make it clear that the economic method is adequate to explain all the laws of human progress. He succeeds, however, in showing that many important factors, if not the whole environment, are modified and determined by the economic life. Under such industrial conditions as prevail in this country it is plain that his theory lays an altogether disproportionate stress on land monopoly. It can hardly be said that the landlords here form a distinct class. Henry George made the same mistake. Rent of land is still in most European countries a principal means of exploitation. Purely industrial modes of securing revenue prevail in the country which has carried the capitalist system to its highest perfection. Despite remarkable insight into some American institutions, Loria suffers from the results of merely second-hand knowledge in treating of the United States.

Opposed alike to collectivism, communism, and monopolistic exploitation, he sees with Proudhon that free spontaneous associations of laborers and unprivileged producers of industrial capital will give us the economic form harmonizing with individual liberty and practical equality of condition. Property shorn of its power of increase, competition between economic equals, and an egoistic basis of individual conduct, make up a possible, rational, and desirable social ideal, and also the form of society toward which economic evolution is steadily carrying us.

WILLIAM BAILIE.

The present wave of reaction toward autocracy in Britain and America is the inevitable aftermath of the late glorious and popular wars with which the ruling classes of both countries entertained the people. War revives the military spirit, leads to centralization of power, and a recrudescence of the most reprehensible features of government. While a little more kingly ambition and usurpation of long-lapsed prerogatives may form the prelude to the overthrow of the throne altogether in England, the weak imitation of a crowned autocrat presented by the redoubtable Teddy in this country will serve only to excite the risibility of the sovereign people. Yet even political reaction may be turned to account by the educational activity of consistent libertarians.

Mr. Crosby advises the betting men on the subscription list of the "Whim" to back the ideas of that periodical rather than those of Liberty, "as the history of the next few centuries is bound to confirm them." Does he *know* this, or is it a "feeling"? Has he arrived at the conclusion by logical and scientific processes, or do his "bones" tell him so? I cannot argue against feelings, but, if Mr. Crosby has reasons for the faith in him, it would be interesting to inspect them. My study of history does not lead me to the conclusion that Christian communism is making headway and conquering the nations. The world is no more Christian today than it was nineteen hundred years ago. It is certainly less Archistic, but not as the result of preaching love and meekness and nonresistance. By the way, has the "Whim" ideas? What business has it with this inferior and untrustworthy guide, and why does it maltreat its feelings?

The Jewel Consistency.

"What funny things we see when we don't have a gun!" For instance, take this Panama business. The other day our strenuous, but motherly, president "received" the representative from Panama. The august (not to say September) Theodore extended "the glad hand" with as much apparent eagerness as he concealed when he gripped the presidency; and the representative from Panama was taken into "the gaiety of nations." Why? Avaunt, fat-head! Did not Panama secede? And does not Theodore love secession—when it wins?

But on that same day when Panama was welcomed by our spectacular executive, one Hitt, a representative in congress from Illinois, introduced a resolution in "the House" calling for a list of all people who had been deprived of the right to vote, in certain States, "except those who had been guilty of rebellion, or other crime." So, while Panama was being lauded because it rebelled, those poor devils who had unsuccessfully rebelled were being excepted from among those entitled to vote, because they had been guilty of "crime"! Verily, it is but a step (and a short one, at times) from "crime" to the sublime! In fact, I think, in this instance, the latter word had better be divided into syllables, and expressed as sub lime—meaning something put under, or below, in company with an effective disinfectant.

When one is convicted of an attempt at burglary, his sentence is usually less severe than would have been passed upon him had he succeeded in his effort to burglarize; but, when one rebels and is convicted, he receives punishment for his "crime" only because he failed in it. The punishment is for his failure—not for the alleged offence itself. If he had succeeded, he would not only not have been punished, but would have been *rewarded*. Hence our motheresque president spills his verbal pearls before a successful criminal (rebel) at the same time that Hitt is referring in terms of reproach and contumely to such poor devils as had tried to rebel but had failed! Thus are we taught the noble lesson, by our "unco guid" president, that to win his approval one must get away with the goods." "Ro oseve lt mak e sme t ired"—which, being freely interpreted, means: "The dog returns to absorb again that which he erstwhile cast aside."

Under date of "Washington, November 14," the "Sun" quotes the president as having intended to incorporate into his annual message to congress a statement on the Panama canal matter, from which I quote the following:

> It seems evident that in a matter such as this we should finally decide which is the best route, and, if the advantages of this route over any other possible route are sufficiently marked, we should then give notice that we can no longer submit to trifling or insincere dealing on *the part of those whom the accident of position has placed in temporary control of the ground* through which the route must pass; that, if they will come to an agreement with us in straightforward fashion, we shall in return act not only with justice, but with generosity, and that, if they fail to come to such an agreement with us, we must forthwith take the matter into our own hands."

The italics are mine.

Panama having "crimed" (rebelled) before the message was issued, the said "statement" was eliminated, having become unnecessary through the recent trend of events; but some portions of the said "statement" are deeply interesting. Those portentous words were not intended to be for general application, but only for the specific purpose of letting Columbia know that, when we wanted any land from her, we should first "decide which is the best route" for the purpose we have in mind, and then we should decide when she (Columbia, or any other infant nation) had been "trifling or insincere" beyond our patience, and then we should be first "just" (according to our own idea of the matter), and then "generous" (also according to our own idea of the matter), and then, if she still proved intractable, we should "forthwith take the matter into our own hands." That's just what a highwayman does.

The italicised portion of the said quotation from President Roosevelt's "statement" looks to me like a somewhat warped excerpt from the platform of the Democratic party in this State in the gubernatorial campaign last year. The latter applied to coal lands while the former applies to canal lands, but both are on the same grand principle,—namely, "If you see anything that you want, and are strong enough to hold it, why, *take it.*"

> Teddy, oh, Teddy, I'm filled with dismay
> To think of your awful disgrace!
> That you, of all men, should surrender your pen
> As an aid to *Democracy's race!*

ONLOOKER.

New York News-Factories.

To the Editor of Liberty:

The arrest of John Turner and his threatened deportation under the new Anti-Anarchist law have brought the general subject of Anarchism prominently before the public; and at this time, while a great deal of stuff is being printed in the daily papers on the subject, the following account of a personal interview with the editor of the New York "Times" may be of interest, as indicating, to some extent, at least, the attitude of the press toward Anarchy.

As the readers of Liberty know, the newspaper accounts of the meeting which Mr. Turner was addressing at the time of his arrest were absolutely false. Therefore, having been present at the meeting and knowing the actual facts of the case, I called on the editor of the "Times," the principal offender, with a request that he print a letter of correction in his paper.

When I approached the editor in his sanctum, and stated my errand, he looked up and said:

"Well, we don't care to do anything much for these Anarchists, unless it is to see them all safely to the electric chair."

When I remonstrated that, regardless of his personal opinion of the Anarchists, if his paper was going to print anything at all about them, common decency and fairness dictated that they should tell the truth, he remarked:

"We don't consider that these people are entitled to fairness any more than a pack of mad dogs."

And in the course of his further remarks he volunteered the information that Anarchists were "people banded together for purposes of assassination," who were "everybody's enemies."

In spite of these strong statements, the editor printed my letter, but without comment.

Of course I know there is nothing new in all this. Misrepresentation and calumny, I suppose, are the lot of every radical movement. But, when the editor of so important and influential a newspaper as the "Times," in an amazing burst of frankness, comes out with statements the only inference from which is that he would stoop to any means to injure a cause he assumes to be "everybody's enemy," the occasion seems to furnish a good opportunity (which I hope the editor of Liberty will not miss) for someone to follow Dr. Dowie's example and "get after" him.

The following facts may also be of interest to those who are not well acquainted with newspaper methods of getting news. In the course of my investigations of this matter, I traced the responsibility for the original story of the so-called "raid" on the Turner meeting to the New York City News Association, a branch of the Associated Press. From the manager of that association I learned that the story as it appeared in the "Times," "Press," and "Journal," and from them was copied broadcast over the country, was written by a young "space grabber," who was "anxious to get on the regular staff," and therefore,

" in his youthful enthusiasm to please, wrote the story in the manner he thought most likely to please."

According to the direct admissions of the manager, the reporter was " most likely not in the hall at all, but got his facts from some policeman who took part in the affair, and who wanted to get a little glory for himself by making out there had been a riot." (The quotations mark literal statements.)

Thus are our newspapers " made."

WM. G. LIGHTBOURN.

New York, November 10, 1903.

A Triumph of Morality.

[Edmund Haraucourt in " Le Journal."]

M. Benoît, teacher of history in the grammar school, had a deplorable reputation, and his existence was gradually becoming a notorious scandal. He was twenty-eight years old, and wore a gloomy air; he associated but little with his colleagues and still less with the towns-people; he was said to be very learned and industrious, but profoundly immoral, his stern exterior being only a mask of hypocrisy concealing his black perversity.

The public conscience formulated two grievances against him. In open class he had offered subversive ideas and opinions on historical events,—opinions savoring of politics rather than of instruction. The attitude of this teacher warranted the worst hypothesis; perhaps he was a Free Mason? Surely; and at least he was a freethinker,—revolutionary, antisocial, Anarchistic; why not? His lesson on the reign of Louis XV. had taken on the character of a diatribe, of a pamphlet! Furthermore, he had read to his pupils from Diderot and even from Jean Jacques: a passage from " Emile " had been cited in his lectures. The children bore witness to it. Several families, wounded in their beliefs and legitimate feelings, were indignant; parents talked of the matter on Sundays, in the Jardin de la Ville.

But this grievance was not the gravest; the intolerable fault was the private life of this M. Benoît and the example that it offered.

" In heaven's name, what are we coming to? The government is very guilty in tolerating such improprieties, under the eyes of our children, and on the part of those whose duty it is to instruct them! "

For it was a truth universally admitted: M. Benoît kept a mistress.

Nothing was known about it at first. He had arrived from Paris in company with a woman older than himself, dark and thin, whose hair was turning gray. This woman, about forty-five years old, had passed for the new teacher's mother or aunt; but an incautious remark on his part (one never thinks of everything) had revealed the mystery. M. Benoît had said: " I have no relative."

" Then! "

" Then? "

But one plausible explanation remained, and it haunted all minds; but no one dared to formulate it in the presence of others. Families winked their eyes and shook their heads, and men of mature years smiled guardedly.

" A gay boy! "

This reticence would have lasted a long time, but for the fact that one Sunday M. Benoît walked to the band-concert with this woman on his arm. That day he was judged.

" He has not lost all sense of shame! "

" To take out such a creature! "

" And ugly! "

A school-boy having saluted his teacher, the couple responded quietly, like a household having no reason to reproach itself.

" This is too much! "

" Prosper, I forbid you to salute him! "

" Very well, Mamma."

The report spread immediately, among the schoolboys at play nearby, that Chicon's mother had just forbidden Chicon to salute M'sieu Benoît; the races and games of marbles going on in front of the prefecture stopped instantly, and the pupils made haste to join their families in the promenade, that they might meet the teacher and look him squarely in the face without lifting hand to cap; for all it was a great satisfaction.

Thenceforth a tacit agreement—it was unnecessary even to formulate it—prevailed, according to which M. Benoît, when met alone, was to enjoy the honor of a salute, but, when appearing in the company of his disreputable companion, was to be stared at unflinchingly.

This simple decision led soon to consequences still more disagreeable; the children, delighted with the idea of misbehaving with the approval of their parents, decided that the opportunities of meeting the couple would really be insufficient if they should leave the matter to chance, and, moved by the very legitimate desire of multiplying their insults, began to devise means of aiding chance. For this reason the approaches to the house where M. Benoît lived became the favorite meeting-place; the day-scholars' club elected domicile beneath the windows of the teacher of history, whose door they watched; as soon as the double profile of the bearded man and his old mistress appeared on the threshold, all play ceased, positions were rectified in military fashion, and the law-defying couple defiled before a row of impassible faces.

The parents knew that and scolded for form's sake, at the same time laughing: "Oh, these rogues!" A censure so gaily pronounced had all the value of an encouragement. No one dreamed of taking the side of the guilty teacher. When the public conscience, in the name of morality, has entered upon some unjust course, the idea of drawing back becomes unacceptable, and solidarity in error makes it a civic duty to push the misdeed to its last consequences.

" What can you expect? These children are shocked, and show it; one cannot blame them."

Now the Benoîts were called " Philemon and Baucis "; the lady's rather ripe age had won the couple this classic name; behind her and behind him little voices shouted: " Baucis! Baucis!" The cry " Baucis " was the signal agreed upon to announce the coming of the outcasts and the cessation of sports. And lastly Baucis was M. Benoît's name. An embryonic man of art, a scholar in the fifth class, drew a beautiful 6 (Beau-Six*), with chalk, on the teacher's door. The monogram received the fortune that it deserved; the school blackboard never failed to be illustrated with a Six when M. Benoît was to give a lesson; sometimes the Six was adorned with an eye, with a beard; again, its round belly, emphasized by a petticoat, gave a hint of pregnancy. They laughed. M. Benoît, not very sharp, did not see the joke. He simply thought: "The lads here are very ill bred."

But the rudeness grew worse. After a short time the pupils were no longer satisfied not to uncover in presence of the teacher; the boldest sharpened their incivility with a mocking laugh, and insisted until the young instructor was forced, in spite of himself, to notice their insolence.

" Well, my boy, you no longer salute? "

" No, M'sieu."

At last the scandal entered upon its militant period, too long awaited. The joy was universal. What was going to happen? Baucis, cornered by rumor, would be obliged to complain to the principal. Then they would see! They were going to see!

" It is high time! "

The principal received M. Benoît's visit coldly.

" All this is much to be regretted, much to be regretted, and I am placed in the greatest embarrassment. To punish the pupil who has been lacking in respect for you is to draw general attention to the irregularity of your . . . . . what shall I say? . . . . . of your . . . . . domestic organization, and provoke public opinion, already too deeply stirred, yes, too deeply stirred, Monsieur Benoît."

" I do not understand, Monsieur."

" Why, you know,—and you will do justice to my liberalism,—as long as possible, and perhaps even too long,—yes, I repeat, Monsieur Benoît, too long,—I have tried to close my eyes, and doubtless it has been a mistake on my part." . . .

" I understand less and less."

" We of the University are bound more than other citizens to correctness of behavior. This, I admit, may make the condition of young teachers who are bachelors, like yourself, a painful and tiresome one; I admit it. You know the proverb: ' Ennui was born one University day.' We have to be resigned, Monsieur Benoît."

" To what? "

The principal, in presence of this persistence on the part of a subordinate who refused to take a hint, became angry.

" What, Monsieur! Do you pretend to ignore the fact that you are living with a woman and that the whole town is scandalized thereat? "

Saying this, the principal struck the table at which he was sitting with the palms of his hands, and panted with indignation; his honorable face, framed with white whiskers, was pink with anger.

Benoît, on the other hand, turned pale, and his nostrils became compressed; nevertheless he did not get angry; he closed his eyes that he might not see the mouth that had just blasphemed, and remained silent for some seconds; then he spoke.

" Monsieur," he said, " I have not supposed it to be my duty to inform the universe of the details of my private life; evidently I was wrong, since, as a result, men as respectable as yourself are led to make irreverent remarks concerning the worthiest of all women."

" Really, Monsieur? "

" Since you force me to say it, know then, Monsieur, if you do not know it already, that I am an ordinary bastard. An heroic woman took me from the foundling-hospital and brought me up, when she had only just bread enough to feed herself. That I should feed her in my turn is, I imagine, a duty. But the world insults her, and in this I recognize the world's justice."

" If this story is true " . . . . .

" Do me the honor not to doubt it, and, if you do doubt it, not to tell me so."

" I believe you, Monsieur, but public opinion is terribly excited."

" I will not calm it by an act of cowardice, and I am sure you will not counsel me to do so."

" I give you no counsel, Monsieur, but it is my strict duty to maintain good order in an establishment entrusted to my vigilance. You know the saying: *Salus populi suprema lex.* The present state of things must cease, in one way or another; for this reason I must inform the vice-rector, who will decide, and to whom, if you see fit, you will make known your personal situation and your reasons for not consenting to change it. I have the honor to salute you."

The administrative inquiry took its regular course. M. Benoît was heard, consoled, and sacrificed. The vice-rector highly approved the moral value of the young teacher's determination, and congratulated him on his refusal to abandon his mother by adoption; but, as, on the other hand, a public exposure of this situation could have only the most disagreeable results, it was better to abstain from it, and avert everything by a simple transfer.

The whole town soon knew that M. Benoît was going away. His change of post bore all the marks of a disgrace, and public morality was triumphant.

* In French Baucis and Beau-Six are pronounced alike.—*Translator.*

We Lack the Courage of Our Liberty.

[Henry Maret.]

All the troubles of our century grow out of the fact that it is a century of liberty following centuries of authority. All its tendencies are liberal, but it is not accustomed to liberty, and distrusts it; like the child freed from its leading-strings, it does not wish to resume them, yet dares not venture forth. Humanity, accustomed to being led, is afraid of its own independence. Hence admirable theories and fatal practices.

Papa James, for Instance.

[Henry Maret.]

We sometimes hear spoiled children cry: " Papa is very bad; he won't let me beat my little sister." And there are some papas who surrender to the child's observation, and let him beat his little sister out of respect for liberty.

The "License Tag."

Once on a time, as I've been told,
There lived a charming girl
Who loved a lad. Her heart was glad;
Her head was in a whirl;

In truth she *thought* she loved the lad
With all her maiden heart;
But, when said he: "Come live with me,"
She drew herself apart.

He said: "I love you tenderly,
And hope my love will last
Till life shall end, and death shall blend
The future and the past.

"But as the future none can read,
And love, that's purely human,
May turn away some other day
And seek another woman,—

"Or other man,—it seems to me
'Twere wise for us to wait
Until we know which way to go
To find United Fate.

"When we have known each other well
By living, day by day,
The open life of man and wife,
'Twill then be time to say

"That each desires no other mate
While life on earth shall last—
And even then the laws of men
Were vain to hold us fast.

"The silken cords affection weaves
Are more effective, far,
Than all the courts, and all the forts,
And all the pulpits are."

She went with him to be his mate,
And it is still "her brag"
That he and she can happy be
Without a "license tag."

The "license tag" she means, of course,
Is that one known in law
As "being wed"—which means they've fed
The State and Church's maw.

It adds no mite of happiness,
But simply ties a knot
So hard and fast that it, at last,
Will chafe each tender spot.

Those who would always happy be,
'Neath every sun and flag,
In "harmony" will find the key,
And not the "license tag."

C.

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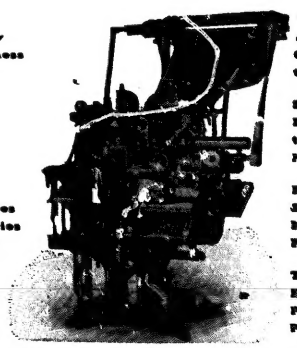

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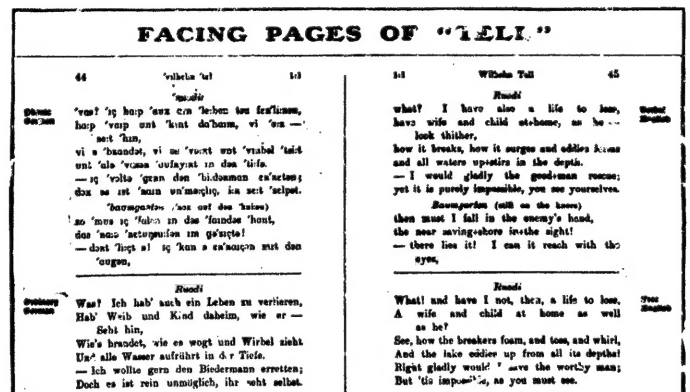
John Locke:

"And to make the reading and understanding of it the less tedious and difficult to him, let him help himself if he please with the English Translation. Nor let the Objection that he will then know it only by rote, fright any one. This, when well consider'd, is not of any Moment against, but plainly for this Way of learning a Language. For Languages are only to be learned by rote."

Edmond Demolins:

"In short, the only practical and rapid way of learning a language is to store in the memory as many words and phrases as possible. By the time a pupil has read and understood — which is easy with a translation — twelve or fifteen volumes of Latin, he knows Latin."

FACING PAGES OF "TELL"



The Study of Modern Languages in Boston, Mass.

(From *Le Maître Phonétique* for March, 1901)

The publication of the Ideophonic Texts for Acquiring Languages . . . shows a zeal at once rare and determined in the teaching of languages by the phonetic method. On the two facing pages appear four parallel texts of the subject-matter: a phonic foreign text, an ordinary foreign text, a word-for-word rendering of the text, and a free rendering of the text. The sounds of any language are taught by means of the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association. Students of phonetic systems are to be congratulated that the editor has not followed the usual custom of inventing a new system which they have to practice on before really starting in.

October, 1900 JAMES GEDDES, Professor of Romance Languages in the University of Boston

UNIVERSAL ALPHABET

In this table, the letters representing the *voiceless* sounds, that is, the sounds produced without vibration of the vocal cords, are enclosed in curves ( ).

ORGANS	Lips	Gums	Palate	Veil	Uvula	Throat
Wholly closed, then opened	b(p)	d(t)	j(c)	g(k) ɑ(q)		(ʔ)
Nose passage open	m(m̥)	n(n)	ɲ(ɲ̊)	ŋ(ŋ̊)		
Open at sides (of tongue) only		l(l)	ʎ(ʎ̊)	ɫ(l̥)		
Trilled		r(r)			ʀ(ʀ̥)	ʕ ʢ
So close as to produce friction	v(f) ƴ(ƒ)	z(s) ʒ(ʃ) ð(θ) ƶ(ʒ)		w(ʍ)		ɦ(h) (ḥ)
	Rounded		ɥ(ɥ̊)	ẘ(ʍ)		
			ʝ(ç)	ɣ(x)		
Very close	Rounded		ɥ ɥ	ɯ		
			ɪ ɪ	ɯ		
Close	Rounded		ʏ	ʊ		
			ɪ	ɯ		
Half close	Rounded		ø ɵ	o		
			ø ɵ	ʏ		
Half open	Rounded		œ ɞ	ɔ		
			ɐ ɑ	ʌ		
Open			æ ɒ			
Very open			a ɑ			

ˈ denotes that the *preceding* sound is *relatively long*
ˌ denotes that the sounds just after it are relatively *short*.
ˆ denotes that the sound under it is nasal, or produced with the passage from throat to nose open.

[ ] denotes that the pitch of the enclosed sounds is high.
[ ] denotes that the pitch of the enclosed sounds is low.
⟋ denotes that the pitch of the preceding sounds rises.
⟍ denotes that the pitch of the preceding sounds falls.

Henry Sweet:

"Phonetics is almost as old as civilization itself . . . It is the unphonetic, not the phonetic methods that are an innovation."

Paul Passy:

"I was disagreeably surprised to observe that in American schools, as almost everywhere in France, they make use, from the very start, of the German characters, so embarrassing to beginners, and which there is every advantage in not taking up till later on."

Benjamin Ide Wheeler:

"Words are not words without context, motive, and life."

For WHAT
RemarKable

For Its Fundamental Principle
that languages are to be learned quite as much by Practice as by Theory: that *ideas* and *sounds*, to become sufficiently *associated* in the mind, must actually be *present* in the mind — in the right combinations — *over*, and *over*, and *over again*.

For Its System of Phonic Notation,
the Universal Alphabet of "*Le Maître Phonétique*," a journal circulated in 35 different countries. This alphabet has already been applied to about 200 languages and dialects, and bids fair to come into world-wide popular use. *After one language has been learned by it, other languages are much easier to learn.*

For Its Four Parallel Texts
always in sight, three of them corresponding, *line for line*, and *word for word*: thus securing *perfect ease of reference*. Each text is, however, *distinct* from the others: thus enabling the student to pin his attention exclusively and continuously on any one of them he may choose.

For Its Phonic German Text
giving the *exact pronunciation and stress* of each word as spoken *in that particular context in which it occurs*. Pronunciations as commonly given in text-books, grammars and dictionaries, are not only few in number and inexact, but arbitrary: *fitted to no particular context*.

For Its Ordinary German Text
corresponding *line for line* and *word for word* with the phonic German text, and printed in large, clear roman type.

For Its Verbal English Text,
a word-for-word rendering, corresponding *line for line* with the ordinary German and phonic German texts: enabling the student or instructor to find at a glance *the literal meaning of each word in the particular context in which it occurs*.

For Its Free English Text
giving *the general idea and spirit* of the German, and often a literal rendering of the lines.

For WHOM
Designed

For All Students of German,
whether having private or class instruction, or studying by themselves only, who wish to *start right*, not start wrong, to be *continuously helped and corrected*, not continuously hindered and led astray, to proceed *rapidly*, not at a snail's pace, and to try the theory that *practice makes perfect*.

For All Teachers of German
(*whether teaching "Tell" or not*) who know that German can be acquired only by covering *an enormous amount of ground*; and who know, therefore, that their duty is to furnish their pupils with the most refined and powerful instruments for self-instruction which can be obtained. If not adopted as a regular text-book, this volume may be used as a *supplementary* text.

For All Students whose Pronunciation is Bad:
and the pronunciation of English-speaking students *is apt to be very bad*.

For All Teachers who are Uncertain as to Pronunciation
or rendering, or who have a local or imperfect pronunciation, and *who want standard guides*, such as the phonic text and the word-for-word rendering *for their own use* at home or in the class.

For All Students who Read Aloud:
and should students not read aloud more or less: in class and out?

For All Teachers of German Phonology
who now confine their teaching to mere elementary theory, for lack of *accurate and practical texts* on which to set students to work finding things out for themselves.

For All Students of General Phonetics and Philology,
who are interested in the structure of the German language.

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